

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 11793

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TAGS: PFOR,UR,US

SUBJECT: ARBATOV-GREEN SIDE DISCUSSIONS OF ROMANIAN SOLUTION
TO U.S.-SOVIET TRADE-EMIGRATION IMPASSE

1. SUMMARY: SOVIET USA INSTITUTE DIRECTOR ARBATOV
AND WAYS AND MEANS TRADE SUBCOMMITTEE CHAIRMAN
GREEN DISCUSSED INFORMALLY POSSIBILITY OF A

"ROMANIAN-TYPE" SOLUTION TO U.S.-SOVIET TRADE-EMIGRATION
IMPASSE, AND DISCUSSIONS MAY BE CONTINUED IN WASHINGTON.
END SUMMARY.

2. DEPARTMENT SHOULD BE AWARE THAT ON FRINGES OF
CODEL ALBERT ACTIVITIES AND IMPASSE OVER TRADE AND
EMIGRATION WHICH CHARACTERIZED FORMAL SESSIONS,
ARBATOV AND GREEN HAD SEVERAL PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS
ON SUBSTANCE AND MODALITIES OF "ROMANIAN" SOLUTION
TO U.S.-SOVIET PROBLEM.

3. IN CONVERSATION WITH EMBOFF AT SPASO RECEPTION
AUGUST 12, ARBATOV SAID HE FELT GREEN HAD MOST
PRODUCTIVE APPROACH TO PROBLEM, IN COMPARSION WITH
SUGGESTIONS BY OTHER CODEL MEMBERS THAT BASKET III
COMMITMENTS COULD FURNISH COVER FOR SOLUTION, AND
THAT HE INTENDED FOLLOW UP IN CRIMEA. APPROACH
INVOLVING MAINTENANCE OF PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICAL
ACTION, WORKED OUT INFORMALLY WITH CONGRESS, SEEMED
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TO HIM "REASONABLE." ASKED ABOUT TIMING PROBLEM,

GIVEN COMPLICATIONS OF SOVIET DECISION-MAKING, HE SAID CONGRESSIONAL CONTACTS WITH SOVIET EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON WOULD BE THE WAY, BUT THEN ADDED THAT HE THOUGHT TOTALLY INFORMAL VISIT OF "ONE OR TWO" SUPREME SOVIET MEMBERS PERHAPS WOULD BE EASIEST METHOD OF MAINTAINING CONTACT.

4. IN SEPARATE SPASO CONVERSATION WITH EMBOFF, GREEN SAID ARBATOV HAD SUGGESTED TO HIM THAT HE (ARBATOV) RETURN TO U.S. WITH CODEL ON DELEGATION PLANE. ALTHOUGH GREEN TENDED TO EMPHASIZE NEED FOR SOVIETS COME FORWARD WITH THEIR OWN IDEAS, HE SAID HE WAS AWARE DESIRABILITY IN AVOIDING ALPHONSE AND GASTON CONTREDANSE AS TO WHO INITIATES DISCUSSION (AS WELL AS USE OF ROMANIAN LABEL, AS DISTINGUISHED FROM "ROMANIAN, CONTENT OF POSSIBLE SOLUTION). WHILE NOTING THAT MANY CODEL MEMBERS INCLUDING HIMSELF WERE REFERRING TO POSSIBLE HELSINKI COVER IN GENERAL TERMS, GREEN SAID HE STILL THOUGHT IT WORTHWHILE TO CONCENTRATE ON SOLUTION WHEREBY SOVIETS WOULD INDICATE THEY INTENDED JEWISH EMIGRATION TO RISE AND CONGRESS, AFTER DECENT INTERVAL IN WHICH TRENDS COULD BE ASSESSED, WOULD ACCEPT PRESIDENTIAL LETTER ALONG ROMANIAN LINES, EVEN THOUGH IT DID NOT STRICTLY MEET JACKSON-VANIK REQUIRMENTS. ANOTHER STEP WHICH CONGRESS MIGHT TAKE WOULD BE GENERALIZATION OF STEVENSON AMENDMENT RESTRICTION TO ALL NON-MARKET COUNTRIES, AS GESTURE. WHILE HE RECOGNIZED SOVIET DECISION-MAKING CUMBERSOME AND SOVIETS SIMPLY MIGHT NOT ACCEPT THIS TYPE SOLUTION, HE LOOKED FORWARD PURSUING APPROACH WITH ARBATOV, WHO SEEMED TO HIM WORTH TLAKING TO.

5. IN CONVERSATION WITH EMBASSY CONTROL OFFICER DURING FLIGHT FROM CRIMEA TO BUCHAREST, GREEN SAID ARBATOV TOOK TOUGHER LINE IN YALTA AND GAVE NO HOPE THAT EMIGRATION RATE MIGHT RISE PRIOR TO ACTION BY U.S. CONGRESS. GREEN NEVERTHELESS EXPECTED THAT SOVIET EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON WOULD IN DUE COURSE FOLLOW UP HIS DIALOGUE WITH ARBATOV.

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6. GREEN ALSO INDICATED HE HAD NOT HAD TIME TO THINK PROBLEM THROUGH. HE WAS CONVINCED ONLY SOLUTION WAS TO "DE-FUSE" PRESENT IMPASSE BY WORKING OUT NEW UNDERSTANDING WITH ADMINISTRATION, KEY MEMBERS OF CONGRESS, AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY, AND SOVIETS. GREEN -- UNLIKE MOST OTHER CODEL MEMBERS -- THOUGHT IMPASSE COULD BE RESOLVED PRIOR TO 1976 ELECTIONS.

HE ALSO FELT THAT ROMANIAN-TYPE SOLUTION COULD BE SOLD TO SENATOR JACKSON, PROVIDING RABBI MILLER OF COUNCIL OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS COULD BE BROUGHT ON BOARD. GREEN SAID HE WOULD BE GLAD TO STAY IN TOUCH WITH DEPARTMENT ON THIS MATTER.

7. CONGRESSMAN YATES, WHO DESCRIBED HIMSELF AS "ELDER HEW IN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES," TOLD EMBOFF HE WAS FLEXIBLE REGARDING ROMANIAN-TYPE SOLUTION, WHICH GREEN HAD DISCUSSED WITH YATES ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS DURING TRIP. IT WAS CLEAR, HOWEVER, THAT YATES DID NOT WANT TO SPEARHEAD MOVEMENT IN THIS DIRECTION.

8. COMMENT: BOTH GREEN AND YATES HAD ONLY GENERAL KNOWLEDGE OF CHRONOLOGY OF BREAKDOWN OF COMPROMISE OVER JACKSON-VANIK. NEITHER CONGRESSMAN, FOR EXAMPLE, WAS AWARE OF HELMS AMENDMENT TO TITLE FOUR OF TRADE ACT. DETAILED REVIEW OF FACTS, PERHAPS BEGINNING WITH KISSINGER-JACKSON LETTERS, PROBABLY WOULD BE WELL-RECEIVED BY BOTH.
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